1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

In 1818–19 they were roving between the lower Mearim and the Grajahú, remained wholly inaccessible, and by their incursions greatly damaged the property of settlers as far as Cantanhede, down the Itapicurú. Southward they roamed almost to the vicinity of the present Barra do Corda in order to visit the great arrow-reed stands at the Caxoeira da Canna braba of the Mearim, where they occasionally had hostile encounters with the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Čą'kamekra.

Since 1850, but especially since 1853,[a] the Krẽyé and Pobzé began to present themselves peaceably in considerable numbers before the settlers at Bacabal on the Mearim, so that the government had the colony Leopoldina established for them. Allegedly in that year it held 500 men fit to bear arms, an obvious exaggeration, for the total Indian population to be settled in the two colonies of Carú (Guajajára) and Leopoldina was estimated at only 2000. As early as 1855 a fever epidemic afflicted the colony, carrying off many and driving others to flee back to the woods. In Marques' time, which so far as his records go does not extend later than 1862, a count in Leopoldina still yielded 336 Indians: 158 "Timbira" (= Kukóekamekra); 87 Cremzés (= Krẽyé); and 91 Pobzé. This is the last mention I can find of the Pobzé.

In 1913 I met one of these Krẽyé in São Luiz and secured from him a word list and several traditional stories. The census of 1919 mentions two settlements: Cajueiro with 43 Crangés (= Krẽyé); and Santo Antonio with 30 Timbira (= Kukóekamekra). They are still situated in close proximity to each other in the forest region west of Bacabal between the Mearim and Grajahú, nearer to the latter. The Pobzé seem to be wholly extinct.

The word Krẽyé is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot); while Kukóekamekra is traceable to kukóe (monkey [*Cebus* sp.]). The speech of the two minute tribal remnants is said to present no differences.

4. The Krẽyé of Cajuapára

The Krẽyé of Cajuapára, nowadays simply known as Timbira among Neobrazilians, are not by any means a band of seceders from the Bacabal tribe of that name, but a quite distinct Timbira tribe that merely happens to share the same designation. This separateness extends even to speech: while the Bacabal dialect greatly resembles that of the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and linguistically closest to the Kre' pų'mkateye and Pųkóbye. The Cajuapára call themselves Krẽyé, but are known to neighboring tribes as Pihą'kamekra (pihą', weaverbird [*Cassicus* sp.]), which Neobraziliana have transmuted into Piocamecrana, Pivócamecras, and Pivocas.[b] The Amaneyé, of the Tupí linguistic stock, also speak of them as Pihó.

Their earlier habitat was on the Embira Branca, a sizable brook that empties into the Tocantins a little below Imperatriz.

In 1848 the Carmelite Brother Manoel Procopio took over the missionary work in the military colony of Santa Thereza (now Imperatriz), which had been recently founded by the authorities of Pará. At that time there were two Gragé Indian aldeas near by, one a quarter of a mile from the post and the other a mile beyond the woods, with a joint population of over 200.[c]

In 1851 the missionary moved to São João do Araguaya, but since his efforts

[a] Marques, Apontamentos, "Colonisação." Sotero dos Reis, Machado, 619.
[b] Casal, Chorographia, 1:293. Marques, Apontamentos, "Carolina." Moura, De Belém a S. João, 281. This last author erroneously locates the tribe on the Rio do Somno.
[c] Marques, Apontamentos, "Santa Thereza."

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Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahô' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all Northwestern and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro[168] their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajára parallels (pl. 18, *a*); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

Ethnographically, however, the kupé is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Šerénte, all of them Gê tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were *acquainted* with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Rąmkõ'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tauary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kačím; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukrãčą' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

The true plantations (pl. 5, *a*) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Rąmkõ'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

[168] Memoria, § 12.